1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

poured over the mother who is now considered as perfectly clean—able to take her full place in society again. That night there is a feast for the women folk only, called *bihni*. Special foods prepared with *haldi* and *ghi* are partaken of, there is singing and dancing following the feast, and the whole ceremony usually lasts all night. If a feast is impossible raw sugar (*gur*) is distributed among the singers. The whole procedure

Fig. 18

is usually called *chhatthi*, or sixth day ceremony and signifies the removal of uncleanness. In Rewa we were told that at this time Dulha Baba, who is often regarded as a household god, should be worshipped. Certain drawings are put upon the walls of the houses at this time. They

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yellow *haldi* water and keeps it in a number of *lotas*. As the guests are about to depart the women appear with the *haldi* water and *kajra* (lamp-black), the latter being in the form of a paste. The yellow water is sprinkled over the departing guests and the lamp-black is applied just below the eyes. This is considered auspicious and both are believed to have a protective significance. In jest the *kajra* is sometimes applied to other parts of the face and hearty laughs and ridicule result, all of which the party must bear cheerfully. The girl's mother should sprinkle the *haldi* water on the boy's father and after she has done this and put the colour below his eyes she holds her brass *lota* before him and he is expected to drop some money into it—at least one rupee. The rest of the men are then sprinkled by the other women and are also asked to give a gift, but not as much as the father gave. The women then courteously salute and go off taking with them the *lotas* containing the coins.

For a brief time the men of the two parties remain seated together, eat *pan supari* and pass around the *hukka* for a smoke. Finally the boy's party gets up and all go to the edge of the village together where they embrace and separate. This ends the first part of the wedding cycle.

(2) *Domestic Preparations.* The time that is to elapse between the writing of the *lagan* and the *sadi* is fixed by the *lagan* itself and depends on several factors of an astrological nature. Usually there is less than a month between them. During this period there are active preparations in both houses as certain important things must be accomplished.

In the girl's village some uncooked rice coloured with *haldi* is taken around by members of the family and given to those who are to be invited to the ceremonies. With the rice the time and place of the ceremonies are made known. There should be plenty of supplies of food on hand and among the things listed there should be *sendur*, a *dauri* (small basket), new clothes, cash for small gifts and payments, rice, pulse, especially *urad* pulse (*Phaseolus radiatus*) and wheat.

(3) *Mangarmati.* The *mangarmati* or *magarmati* is a ceremony whereby a certain amount of earth is obtained from which *chulhas*, or earthen fireplaces, are to be constructed. This ceremony, which is performed at both homes and on the same night, is essentially alike in both the houses and must be performed after sunset. Only the women take part in the gathering of the sacred earth, but we were allowed to watch a *mangarmati* ceremony in the Kaimur hills. It was found that a portion of the courtyard just in front of the house had

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585 couple. The bridegroom soon arrives dressed in his wedding garments, being brought thence in the *palki*. In the *palki* there is some *sendur* and a pair of shoes which are for the bride, and which his father removes and gives to the girl's representative for use later on. The *sendur* is used during the ceremony to mark her forehead. The bridegroom is now helped out of his *palki* and is asked by the priest to [592] worship certain deities and as he does so he gives each a small offering of money.

The bride now makes her appearance for the first time; up till now she has been secluded in the house and none of the male members of either party has seen her. So now the bridegroom sees her for the first time, but only her form, as her face is covered with a part of her *sari*. She sits beside her future husband on the *chauk* and the priest repeats some Sanskrit formulas, but what they were we were unable to ascertain.

The time is now ready for the offerings to be presented to the persons about to be married. (At one place this was said to come later). This is called *chari* and comes from the groom's side. As they [431] come forward with their gifts they first touch the feet of those about to be married and then cast their gifts into the *kalsa* in the centre of the *chauk*. The usual gifts are money, clothes and brass vessels, and as far as possible these are thrown into the *kalsa*. But if one wishes to give a chicken, a goat, or even a cow he says, "I give a chicken" and makes a motion as if he were throwing it into the waiting vessel. This gift will be given later on. In reality this is a worshipping of the couple. If the girl has a brother he now appears with a small *lota* of water and a *thali* (tray). The girl is asked to stretch out her hands before her, the tray is placed beneath them and the water poured over her hands and into it.

The *lawa* is now served. It will be recalled that this was prepared at both houses after the *mangarwati* ceremony and the two portions are now brought and mixed together. Some *batasas* (small sugar-like wafers) are also added, the whole being mixed by the girl's brother. When he is satisfied that this has been well done he takes out seven handfuls, one at a time, which he places one by one into the washed hands of his sister which are still stretched before her. She receives each handful and places it on another *thali* set before her. This is called the *lawa parsana* (or *parosna*), and the bridegroom's party pays the boy four annas for it. The mixture, now called *bras*, is placed near the *magrohan* in the centre of the wedding booth. Some incense is put [789] into the fire burning there and some of the *bras* is used to make a magic circle about it.

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The bride and the bridegroom are now conducted to the *marhwa*, and the latter is seated on the low wooden stool while the former sits either on a small mat of *palasa* leaves or on a low square made of mud and cow dung on his left. The *pandit* reads some sacred words, (supposedly from the Vedas) and as he does so the couple is instructed to throw *ghi* and rice coloured with *haldi* into the sacred fire. Each time the fire blazes up the priest utters the words *swaha*, *swaha*, meaning 'accepted', 'accepted'. This is really a *hom* offering. The *lagan* is sometimes read again at this stage.

The couple are asked to stand together, the girl being on the left of the boy. Some of the *sendur* is passed to him which he, with a silver coin, applies to the girl's forehead. As they stand there the *pandit* makes them promise to forgive each other at least seven times during their married life. After the promise the ends of their clothes are tied together, usually by the girl's sister. Into the knot that joins the two should be put a *tahka* (a two-pice coin), some *haldi* and bits of a *supari* nut. Then begins the *bhanwar* or circumambulation of the bride and bridegroom about the sacred pole. If the couple are too young to live together and the marriage is not to be immediately consummated by her going to his house, there will be but five rounds of the *magrohan*. For four of the five rounds the boy walks ahead, and the wife, the ends of the clothes still tied, follows, but on the fifth round the girl precedes the boy. The fire and pole are always kept to their right and they move round them in a clockwise direction. After the completion of each round they stop and the girl puts her right foot on the *sil* (the flat stone used for grinding spices). While she stands thus her brother or a representative makes a round of the pole with the *barain* containing the remainder of the *lawa*.

After the five rounds are completed (there would have been seven had the couple been old enough to live together) the two, still tied together, retire into the house, the girl leading the way. The women in a jesting manner attempt to bar their entrance and the pair have to force their way through. Rude songs and jokes of a sexual nature are now in order. Members of both parties have been given some of the seven handfuls of *lawa* kept in the booth and this is thrown upon the couple. Inside the house a lamp (*dip*) has been left under a basket, thus giving but little light to the room. The girl's mother asks the boy to take up the basket and blow out the light. He does not consent to do this until he receives a gift from his mother-in-law. Sometimes the challenge is for him to light a second lamp from the first. When he gets the desired gift he takes off the basket, but does not blow out the light. When this is done the knot is untied and his *maur*

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796 787 The ninth day is the final day of the *Jawara* festival. The greenish-yellowish wheat can now be brought out and something foretold, in the case of the Fall festival, about the coming crop. If the wheat has grown nicely, in spite of the fact that it has been kept indoors, and in addition frequently covered by a basket, it is a sign that there will be a good crop of wheat. If the growth of the *jawara* is poor, the crop will likely be a poor one. The process appears to [789] have an element of magic in it and is used as a method to secure good crops; for the earth is first well manured and then well cared for and watered. Frazer in his series, "The Golden Bough", has found a similar ritual elsewhere which he calls "The Garden of Adonis."[1]

The growing wheat cannot be taken out before the late afternoon. When the time comes to take it out, some animals are sacrificed at the village shrine, there is singing and dancing and probably there will [482] be a *bawa* with Shardamai as the deity possessing the devotee. The procession is formed at the shrine, and the women carry the plants on their heads to the river or tank where the stalks are immersed. [789] The men folk follow a short distance behind and loudly beat their drums to frighten away any evil influences. The women sing songs [533] of the *bhagat* type and there may be some *bawas* as well, and the de- [785] votee has a trident stuck into his tongue or cheek. Upon reaching the place where the wheat will be "cooled", the women enter the water, and wash away the earth from the roots of the plants. The earthenware vessels are thrown away, and the stalks are retained. Most of [431] them, though not all, are brought back and distributed to friends as [627] a mark of goodwill. They receive from others as well as give. All enmities should be healed.

796 574 That evening there is a feast at the village shrine. The Kols gather by *kurhis* and the animals sacrificed are eaten along with other foods; there is more music and songs and perhaps some more *bawas*. Sometimes the animals are not sacrificed until the procession bringing the stalks of wheat, returns from the tank.

796 *Khajleniya*. This is another term for the Jawara festival and refers especially to the activities of the ninth day, and the part the women play in carrying the wheat stalks. It is therefore spoken of [857] by some Kols as a woman's festival. Along with it there are certain [533] activities for the children. Two sticks are set up to represent a man [535] and a woman, and they dance about the sticks and sing some marriage songs. There is also a test of balance, and a long bamboo pole is [526] placed on the ground, and the boys and girls try to see if they can

1. Frazer, J. G., *The Golden Bough*, Vol. I., p. 224 ff.

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

824 796 rind wood, although this does not seem to be essential. Stakes for this purpose may be purchased ready for use in the bazaars when the mango crop is about to ripen.

The peg is driven into the ground near the tree or trees which are to be married. One peg will do for a number of trees and it reduces the expense in connection with the ceremony. The Brahmin priest will stretch a thin yellow thread from the peg to each of the trees. The owner of the trees has some supplies on hand, said to include *til* oil, rice, *lawa* and *ghi*. Each person present is given a bit of these things which are put into a fire by the sacred pole at the signal of the priest, who says "swaha, swaha," as they are being cast in. The fire blazes up and gives off a scented smoke. The *pandit* (or even the *sai*), then ties, first of all, a bit of yellow cord around the wrist of the owner, and then on the wrist of each one present. The owner [431] should give to everyone present a gift of uncooked rice, the amount varying according to his ability. This ceremony should be performed just before or after the time the tree bears its first fruits. A tree is married only once.

312 796 TANKS AND WELLS. There is a somewhat similar ceremony in the case of wells and tanks. In village India large earthen tanks are commonly used to store water. Water not so wedded will not be as potable as it ought to be. In the case of a tank there should be a pole set up in the centre of the pond. This is said to represent the male element, the husband of the spirit inhabiting the tank and guarding it. It may also correspond to the *magrohan*. An unmarried tank may be molested by evil spirits and the pole warns such away. No coherent account of a ritual in this connection could be obtained from the Kols.

Wells are "married" by putting a bit of *sendur* on the coping and the well is circumambulated seven times by a married couple. Another account was that a Brahmin is called who worships, says *mantras* and performs the *hom* sacrifice. Following this he drinks a *lota* of water and others follow suit. This is sufficient to consecrate a well and make its waters sweet and wholesome.

762 775 MISCELLANEOUS BELIEFS. A number of other animistic beliefs may be mentioned here:

The man who commits suicide does a very foolish thing and it seldom occurs among Kols, for, they say, the police make a great fuss about a suicide, and there is much trouble as a result, and the whole community is hurt. But if committed, hanging from trees is the usual method resorted to. The soul of such a person cannot go to *baikuntha* (Vishnu's heaven), and is doomed to wander about homeless